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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

BY

A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

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[Front Cover]

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PREFACE

114 Two sections of the present study are by Stanley S. Newman: "Type Myth" and "Linguistic Aspects of Yokuts Style." For all other parts of the monograph A. H. Gayton is responsible.[1]

128 The study comprises three main parts: Part I is concerned with general considerations; Part II contains fifty-five hitherto unpublished Yokuts and Western Mono myths and tales collected in English by Gayton; Part III consists of abstracts, together with a comparative analysis, of the same fifty-five new tales and also of one hundred and four myths previously secured from the Yokuts and Western Mono and published by a 127 number of authors. The three principal published collections thus utilized are two on the Yokuts: A. L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, and F. F. Latta, California Indian Folklore; and pertinent parts of one Western Mono collection: E. W. Gifford, Western Mono Myths. Minor collections and even single published myths also have been abstracted for [126] comparison. Also included in the abstracts are outlines of tales secured by Newman in Yokuts texts and not yet published. In order to make certain comparisons more effective there occasionally appear abstracts from other sources, notably those of the Growing Rock myths from S. A. Barrett's Pomo Myths and C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's Tubatulabal Myths and Tales. To Mrs. Voegelin, Dr. Willard Z. Park, Dr. Leslie Spier, and Mr. Maurice Zigmond, who generously placed their unpublished material at our disposal, the authors owe their deepest thanks.

114 In spite of the fact that our Yokuts myths were recorded independently by two trained persons, it is doubtful that the collection is fully representative. Neither worker was specifically engaged in myth collecting. The popularity of certain tales, which came forth again and again from informants of various local groups, is highly verified, but the extension of the Yokuts roster is indicated only by Newman's series of [177 Yauelmani stories. And Yauelmani knowledge, tinged by Sho- 184] shonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.

121 Bearing in mind the limitations of the material, we have made such interpretations as we can of the linguistic and narrative style of the myths, of their local differences that have cultural significance, and of their relation as a whole to the mythology of adjacent areas.

1 [ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED — ANALYST]

May 31, 1937

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121 122 [1]Newman's work was done while making a linguistic study of Yokuts dialects sponsored by the Committee on Research in Native Languages, 1930-31. Gayton obtained tales incidental to ethnographic field work for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1925-29, aided by a National Research Council Fellowship, 1928-30, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.

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PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

128 Since it was not practicable for Newman to present his text myths in full translation at this time we have selected one as representative of the native Yokuts story form. This appears below in
171 complete translation. It is slightly longer than
538 the usual Yokuts tale and has two elements common

[Text continued top of page 1-B.-Analyst]

TYPE MYTH

Condor Steals Falcon's Wife

539 There they were living above Xolmiu (Clover Place) at the foot of this mountain. Their leaders are thinking about their meeting. And Eagle said, "Tell Cougar and Big Eagle and his friend, the large Crow, and their crier, Dove, and Coyote and Falcon and Wolf." And Coyote was sent. Now he is going to assemble the people. "In seven days we will assemble." Now they will be told--Wind and Thunder and Dog too. And Coyote informed them. And Wind said, "Of course I can go anywhere. But tell Thunder. Will he go?" And, "I'm not sure that he can," he added.

And the seven days came. And already all the people were assembling there. And Thunder did not come. The booming noise he makes is useless; he can't walk. And Coyote went to him. And he questioned him. And Thunder said, "I can't go anywhere. Tell my friend and he will come." And Wind went to him. And there he arrived. And he said to him, "What's the matter with you! Aren't you able to walk? Haven't I been telling you, I'll see to it that you will go where they want you? Are you ready to leave now?" he says to him. "Stand up now, and you will speak," he says to him. "Ready?" Wind says to him. "Yes," then says Thunder. "Speak now," he says to him. "Will we go now?" And Thunder spoke. Just as soon as he spoke, the two of them walked off.

And they arrived there immediately. And their leader, Eagle, said to him, "Have you arrived already?" he says to him. And he said to him, "This gathering of ours is certainly a small one. How is that?" Thunder says. "These are important people. I am thinking about our going west," says Eagle. "All the seeds are now getting ripe again." "Good," they say. "But who will go to look them over?" they say. "Antelope," they say. And Antelope said, "In the morning I will go." And he went. And there he arrived. To his surprise, there were a great many seeds. And he took a great many; he placed them in both his feet. And he arrived after sundown.

[Text continued bottom of page 1-B.-Analyst]

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PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

171 in Great Basin-Plateau mythology: the rock cover-
538 ing of Condor and the rolling skull; otherwise it is a typical example of South Central Californian narrative progression, conversation, action, and
[026] incident.[2] The rest of Newman's myths, abstracted, appear under Abstracts and Comparative Notes.

TYPE MYTH

539 And, as before, Coyote assembled the people. And all the people assembled. A large covering was already spread over the ground. On it he is now going to pour his load. And he poured it. And they said, "There is certainly a lot." And, "Count these important people," they say to Dove. Now they are going to divide it. And each of them took his share. And the unimportant ones took what was left. And all of them were pleased. Having taken their food, all of them will now prepare it. And Falcon's friend, Crow, ate a lot of black seeds. And he turned black. "Well," says their leader, "in seven days we will go."

Now they are going to gather food. And the seven days arrived. And some of them asked their leader, "In how many days will we return?" "In three days." And they said, "There is food enough for our children."

And all the people went. And there they arrived. And they got many seeds. And in three days they returned.

And Falcon probably got a great many. And he said to his wife, "I'll take some of this, and I'll come right back." And his wife was working; she was getting more. And the woman heard him coming. She looks about, but she does not see anything. And Condor alighted close to her. And after alighting he said to her, "Are you the wife of my younger brother?" he says to her. "Is he your younger brother?" she says to him. "Yes," he says. "His name is Tsopnix." And the woman said to him, "What is your name?" she says. "Condor," he says. "So we will go now," Condor says to her. He says to her, "Take off your necklace." Her necklace was money--small beads and big dark beads and small bone beads. And she said, "No," but it was useless. "Why should I?" she says to him. "I'm afraid he'll be angry," she says to him. "No," she says. "We will go now." He took her away by force.

And then Falcon arrived after they had gone. And he couldn't find his wife. And in vain he

[026] [2]Recorded in Yauelmani dialect by Newman.

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539 looked for their footprints. He found nothing. And from there he returned. And he arrived at the leader's house. And the leader said to him, "Why are you alone?" "I can't find her," he says. And the leader said, "I think she has been stolen from you. Now we'll assemble the people," the leader says to him. And he sent Dove. "Assemble the people," he says. And Dove got all the people. "Falcon's wife has been stolen," he says. "Now Eagle will ask the people," he says. "Who's going to find her?" he says.

And all the people assembled. And he asked all of them, "Who can find out where she went?" And Buzzard said, "I'll try. But he must take me where she was stolen," Buzzard said. And there Falcon took him where she was stolen. And there they arrived. "For one day I will search for her," he says. And Buzzard searched all the ravines. He looks down all the impassable places. He comes down. Where is she hidden? And in vain he goes up again. He finds nothing.

He did not find anything. He worked for one day. And he returned. And, as before, all the people assembled. And they asked him, "What happened on your journey?" "I didn't find anything," he says. "I walked over the whole world, but it was useless," he says. "I didn't find anything."

And the leader said, "Now you," he says to Wind. "Yes," says Wind. "I think I can do something. I try to get in everywhere over the whole world," says Wind. And there Falcon took him. And they arrived there. "Is this it?" says Wind to him. "Yes," says Falcon. "Well, I'll walk now," he says. "I will arrive there after sundown," he says. And Falcon says to him, "Well, I am going now," he says. And Wind walked over the whole world. He did not find anything. He worked for one day. And he arrived late at the leader's house. And the leader asked him, "What happened on your journey?" he says to him. "I didn't find anything," he says.

"Now you," Bottlefly is told. And there Falcon took him. And they arrived there. "Did she go from here?" he says to him. And he stood right there where the woman had been sitting. And he said to Falcon, "You must not go anywhere. You must wait for me right here," he says to him. And Bottlefly says, "From here I'll find out where she went. I'll turn around here," he says. "East," and also, "North," he says, and also, "West," and also, "South." And Falcon said, "Where is she?" he says. "Not there," Bottlefly says. "She went far up," he says. "You must wait for me right here," he says.

And there he went far up. And there he remained. He sniffs in all directions. And he turned around. And he saw a house. It was the house of the thief. And there Bottlefly went. And on entering his house, he slipped. He falls on his back. His house was slippery. And it was quiet there. And he saw the woman. And from there he returned. He seemed to be very

[p.2-B]

539 quick. He came there where Falcon remained. And he reached Falcon. And Falcon said to him, "Where?" And he said to him, "She is up there." "I have known it for a long time. I have been thinking," says Falcon. "It is best that we return, and I will go in the morning."

And they returned. And they arrived at the leader's house. And the people assembled. Now they will listen to the one who found her. And all the people assembled. And the leader questioned Bottlefly. "The two of us arrived there where she was stolen," he says. "We arrived there," he says. "And I couldn't find her east or north or west or south," he says. "Well! She went above," he says. "And there I arrived far up," he says. "There she was," he says, "that woman." And Coyote said, "I have known it for a long time," he says. And he named him. "That is his name," he says. "Condor," he says. "All of his body is stone, but his heart can be seen through his back," he says. And Eagle said to him, "Is he certain to fight us if he comes?" he says. And then he said, "Sparrow Hawk is Falcon's younger brother. Yayil is his name." And Falcon said, "In the morning I will get her," he says.

And in the morning Falcon went. He took his musical bow. And far off there he arrived. And there he placed it where his wife had been. And there he sat on his musical bow. And he went up. That musical bow of his took him up.

And far above he came out through a hole in the world. And after coming out he stood there. And there he saw the house. And there he went. And there he arrived at the door. And he said to her, "Come out." And she said to him, "Who are you?" And Falcon said to her, "It is I." "So it is you," she says to him. "Now I will come out," she says to him. And she came out with a string of human bones around her neck. And Falcon said to her, "Take off your necklace. Now we will go," he says to her. And from there they went to the place where he had come out. And they arrived there. And there he placed his musical bow. They sat in the middle of it. And from there they descended far below. And from there they went to their house where their leader was. There they arrived. At their arrival, the people are happy.

And then Condor, the fighter, arrived at his house. And there he saw their wife's necklace; she had thrown it on the door. And at that he immediately got ready to go. Now he is going to follow his wife. And he descended far below. And from there he went. Now he will go toward them. And far off there he arrived. And he asked them, "Where does Tsopnix live?" he says. And Falcon was told, "Condor is looking for you." "Has he come already?" he says. "Yes," says the speaker. And there went Falcon.

All the people are getting very frightened. "Hello," Tsopnix says to him. "It is really you." "Hello," says Condor. "So you took our wife," he says. "Therefore," Condor says to him,

539 "therefore, we will settle it between ourselves. If you kill me, then you will take our wife. But if I kill you, then I will take her," he says. "Which one will shoot first?" he says. "I will be first," says Falcon.

And they went far off to an open plain. "Ready?" Falcon says to him. And it seems that he conjured up a fog. And "Ready?" says his opponent. And many stones fell where Falcon was standing. And Condor asked him, "Where are you?" his opponent says to him. "I'll take my turn with you. Now I come," Falcon says to him. And he conjured up a fog again. Soon his younger brother will go in a circle around him. He has many wire-grass [cane] arrows now. He is shooting at the heart through Condor's back. There this heart of his could be seen. "Well, get ready now," Falcon says to him. "Now I will shoot at you. Three times I will shoot at you," he says to him. "Ready," he says to him. "Get ready now. Now I will shoot at you." And he shot at him. Many stones dropped from his body when he shot. And he shot at him again. And, as before, stones dropped there. And "Where are you?" Falcon says to him. "Here I am," he says.

"Now I will take my turn with you. I come next," Condor says to him. "Good," says Falcon. "Ready?" he says to him. "Ready," then says Falcon. His younger brother still keeps shooting at him through his back. And he conjured up a fog again. And many stones dropped where he was standing. And again he went far off to a different place. And he says to him, "Where are you?" "I am standing here," says Falcon.

"And now I will take my turn with you. I will come next again," Falcon says to him. Already Condor is losing strength. Now he is going to shoot at him again. And a lot of stones fell; they seemed to be very large ones. "Again," Falcon says to him. And he shot at him again. "There is one more," he says to him. "Now I'll shoot at you again," he says to him. But he [Condor] is already losing strength. And, "Again," he says to him. And finally he fell down. Yet he does not stop talking. And then they rested. Now he does not get up. Now he has fallen.

And "What are we going to do with him?" says Coyote. "We will burn him," say all these people. And all of the people gathered wood. They piled it there where he had fallen. And it was set on fire. And the fire died out. Nothing was burning. "Hello," says Falcon to him. "Hello," then says Condor. "So! You are still alive," Falcon says to him. "There is nothing you can kill me with," he says to him. And en-

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539 other kind of wood was gathered. And, as before, it was again piled there where he is lying. And, as before, it was set on fire. It was not burning any longer. "Hello," Falcon says to him. "It is really you. Hello," he says to him. "I am well," he says. "So! You will not die," Falcon says to him.

And Coyote was asked, "What will we burn him with? He does not burn up," they say. And, "With grass," Coyote says. "With that he will burn," he says. And a lot of grass was brought. Now he will be burned with it. And it was set on fire. And all of his body was burning. But his head still talks. "We have probably killed him now. Leave him right there," he says.

And they stayed over night. And during the night the head, by itself, went away. His body was not there. And Falcon got the head and took it away. And the head got angry at being taken. Now the head will try many times to harm him. And again Falcon takes it in his hands. Now he is going to keep smashing it down on these stones. And again it kept trying to harm him.

And finally Falcon said, "We had better go to my father's sister." And Falcon and his wife went off. Now they are going to run away. And the two of them went. And now the head came again. It was trailing them now. And again it overtook them. Again it failed to do any harm to Falcon. And, as before, Falcon took it and kept smashing it down. He broke it in many pieces. And again the two of them went off. And again he overtook them as they were nearing his father's sister's house. And, as before, he again kept smashing it down. And with that the two of them went off again. And his father's sister shouted, "Run," she says to him. "You are coming close now," she says to him. They were getting very near. And now the head was approaching them again. And already it was overtaking them. Just as it approached, the rock closed shut. Just as it closed, the head arrived there. There the head broke. There it became Echo Rock.

And then Eagle was asked, "Where will you go?" he is asked. "Here in the mountain I am going to roam," he says then. And Cougar also was asked, "Where will you go?" he is asked. "Here in the mountain I am going to roam," he says. "I'll kill many deer," he says. Falcon also says, "I too will walk here in the mountain," he says. And Coyote was also asked, "Where will you go?" he is asked. "Here I will walk on the plains. Maybe I will steal something there," he says. And Crow also was asked. "I'll walk west," he says. "Maybe something will die. And I will eat its eyes," says Crow. That is the end.

[p.4-A]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

121 To the extent that language is a medium for communicating ideas and for recording experience, appropriate equivalents in one language can always be supplied for those of another.[3] On this colorless level a language has no style; it is merely what a dictionary implies it is--a bundle of lexical units for referring to things and events and relations, an instrument for conveying the brute content of experience.

000 But we are intuitively aware that our own native tongue, at least, is more than a group of speech symbols for referring to chairs and tables. We know, for instance, that there are a number of ways of saying essentially the same thing, that similar notions can be expressed by different stylistic uses of the language. Our intimate association with our native mode of expression has made us so acutely sensitive to these minute differences of style that we can frequently identify speakers or writers by the manner in which they draw upon the resources of the language. But our ability to make such fine discriminations within one language medium carries with it the seeds of an illusion, for inevitably we get the feeling that there is no limit to the potential variations of style in our language. And we are encouraged in this illusion by literary artists, whose task it is to convince us that they are working with a perfectly flexible medium that can be molded to any desired shape.

121 The process of translation helps to correct such illusions. In translating we come to the unhappy realization that each language, instead of shaping itself to our will, governs and directs the trend of our expression. We are sharply reminded that languages have an inner resistance. Their materials are already shaped into a system of formal and conceptual patterns. Within the patterns of a language other than our own, we are forced to make uncongenial distinctions and to ignore other distinctions that seem
193 imperative to us. In Yokuts, for example, it is necessary to discriminate in all tenses an event

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104 194 [3] Phonetic key.--i, as in English beet; e, as in English bet; a, as in German Mann; o, as in French note; u, as in English boot; ·(as i·, e·, etc.) indicates that the vowel is long; p, t, k, aspirated surds, as in English pill, till, kill; b, d, g, unaspirated surds, as in French pas, tas, cas; p̣, ṭ, ḳ, like b, d, g, but with simultaneous glottal release; ', glottal stop; . (as ṭ, ṣ, etc.) indicates that the consonant is articulated with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge, somewhat farther back along the palate than the articulation for English t, s, etc. Other phonetic symbols can be read with their English value.

[P.4-8]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

193 which is in the process of transpiring from one that has already taken place and exists only as a resultant state or condition: a fundamental contrast is expressed in "he is walking" as against "he is in a condition subsequent to walking." Such a distinction is pedantic in English. On the other hand, the number category is treated very casually in Yokuts as compared to English. Plurality need not be expressed in most nouns unless there is some special point to it; the form "house" can do the work of referring to the plural as well as the singular.

121 These patterns, however, are merely the potentialities of style. A grammar deals with them directly, describing their forms and their conceptual functions. It is not concerned with the selective tendencies operating in actual usage to favor certain potentialities and to neglect others. It tells what a language can do but not what it considers worthwhile doing. To the native a grammar is always unconvincing, for it ignores the most vital and intimate part of his language--the intricate network of values, of attitudes and expectancies that guides his selection of expressive tools.

It would be a sentimental presumption to suppose that we, as outsiders, can respond significantly to the values locked within the Yokuts language. The values and anticipations that we have developed in our own language will not be satisfied in Yokuts. In spite of this, we can escape our bias to some degree by following the selective trends of Yokuts as manifestations of the stylistic values proper to that language and by examining the manner in which Yokuts arrives at an integrated style through the exploitation of certain of its latent resources and the rejection of others.

195 538 A striking uniformity of style is to be found in Yokuts, and the personal narratives collected in the field show the same stylistic qualities as the myths and tales. In these stories there is no tendency to indulge in the elaboration of concrete details. The notions expressed remain on a highly generalized level. This bareness and simplicity of expression can be traced to a number of grammatical factors. Suffixation is practically the only grammatical technique of Yokuts that augments the meaning of word roots. The addition of a suffix, however, sets in motion a chain of formal operations. Principal among these are the vowel processes: in addition to occasional vowel changes that occur under special conditions, the root vowels undergo constant changes dictated by an intricate system of vowel classes; and the vowels of the suffix itself must then be changed to harmonize with the vowels of the root. To add the durative present -'an, for example, the roots 'e·pi, "swim," and de·yi,

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193 "lead, take the lead," change their vowels in the stems 'ipa·-'an, "he is swimming" and diya·-'an, "he is leading." But the suffix must also change its vowel when it is appended to a stem of the "o" class: parallel to the forms quoted above, the root yo·wo, "go home," undergoes vowel changes and also affects the vowel of the suffix in yowo·-'on, "he is going home."

But all of this shifting and balancing of vowels is completely devoid of any referential function. The vowel changes have a purely formal relevance and carry with them no increments of meaning. They are not like our vowel changes in "sing, sang, sung" or in "man, men," which have a clearly assignable function. They resemble the nonfunctional vowel changes in the stressed syllables of "grateful, gratitude" or "volcano, volcanic." Whereas changes of this type affect only a minute portion of the English vocabulary, in Yokuts they are deeply embedded in the language system and accompany every process applied to the word.

In its organization of morphological elements, Yokuts shows the same disregard for external function. The tightly organized and interrelated classifications of word types and subtypes, of stems, and of suffixes are not based upon any rationale of their conceptual content. These elements are classified according to their phonetic form and the way they behave as morphological units, not according to their meaning.

193 Every language possesses a certain amount of
195 formal machinery that does not generate meaning. Of this type are the occasional vowel changes of English, mentioned above, and some scattered consonant changes ("invade, invasion; equate, equation"). But there is a scrupulous and unremitting attention given to form for its own sake in Yokuts. Throughout its grammatical system Yokuts reveals a degree of neatness and consistency in organization, a formal balance and symmetry, that is rare among languages. Although this formal emphasis contributes feebly to the creation of meanings, it is by no means insignificant as a stylistic factor. Formal movements that take place below the level of tangible meanings carry their own esthetic satisfactions. But they are the most subtle and indigenous aspects of a language; they can never be captured in a translation.

193 The suffixing system, which bears the heaviest burden of functional work in Yokuts, does not provide the means for an elaborate development of concepts within the word. There are no more than a hundred suffixes in Yokuts. Although English possesses about the same number, it does not rely primarily upon suffixation; such techniques as word order, compounding, prefixation carry as much, if not more, of the functional load. Yet, in spite of the fact that Yokuts depends almost exclusively upon suffixes, it is remarkably restrained in exploiting the

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193 possibilities of suffix combination. Every word in Yokuts, except the uninflected particle, must have at least one suffix, and the great majority of words occurring in the several volumes of text dictated by my informants do not go beyond this minimum requirement. Words containing two suffixes are fairly common; but words with three suffixes are relatively rare, and those with more than three are practically nonexistent in the texts. This is not a matter of mere statistics; it is a manifestation of selective forces in Yokuts that limit the free application of its grammatical resources. There is no analogous tendency in English to set upper and lower limits to the use of suffixation and to demand that a uniform degree of suffix elaboration be applied to words. As a matter of fact, English does not seek economy or uniformity in the use of any of its grammatical materials. In spite of the fact that we generally look outside the word unit to syntax for the creation of notional complexes, we feel no more strain in a lavishly suffixed word, such as "nationalistically" with its six suffixes, than in a suffixless word, such as "state."

124 193 An instructive exercise that I indulged in during my Yokuts field work was to construct words having four or five suffixes and to ask the informant for a translation. Although such words complied with the grammatical rules and could be translated by my informant without any difficulty, they seldom failed to provoke his amusement. It was obvious that these words were impossibly heavy and elaborate. To the Yokuts feeling for simplicity they were grammatical monstrosities.

193 196 The concepts expressed by the suffixes are abstract in nature. Yokuts does not possess the types of formative element, so familiar in many American Indian languages, that convey notions of concrete instrumentality, such as "with the hand" and "with a stick," or notions of specific location, such as "on the shore" and "in the house." The suffixes of Yokuts have more the character of algebraic symbols; their content is schematic rather than material. Among the verb suffixes, for example, are those defining an event as durative, continuative, repetitive, causative, reciprocal, passive, subordinate, undifferentiated past or present; future. The most common noun suffixes refer to case relations, marking the subject, direct object, and indirect object, or denoting possession, location, and the like. Particularized and concrete meanings are not expressed through the suffixes in Yokuts.

Even the stems, which are the only elements in Yokuts that can specify the material details of reference, show a strong tendency to carve out broad and comprehensive meanings from the referential field. The vocabulary of verb stems is largely made up of such diffuse and generalized notions as "come," "go," "walk," "run," "hear," "see," "smell." When suffixes with their abstract meanings are joined to stems whose referential content is so inclusive, the resulting words con-

193 196 tain notions that are generalized. Although English is well stocked with words expressing notions of this kind, it also has an extensive vocabulary whose words are packed with delicate overtones of meaning. It can add subtle nuances to the general notion of "walk" by using such terms as "stroll," "saunter," "stride," "pace," "march," "tread," "plod," "hobble," "limp," "toddle." There is nothing like this in Yokuts. A book of Yokuts synonyms would be poor indeed. The language is not well equipped, either in its stems or in its formative elements, to build word units that are conceptually detailed or that express refinements and shadings of meaning.

195 Nor are the broad concepts of Yokuts words sharpened by special figurative uses. A stubborn literalness of reference invades the entire language. The shifts and extensions of meaning that add pungency and vigor to English play no part in Yokuts style. Such phrases as "to strike the eye," "to strike a bargain," "a sharp tongue," "a sharp appetite," "the family tree," "the tree of knowledge" illustrate the English genius for employing terms transferred from their literal sense. But in Yokuts a tree is a tree and nothing more. The language does not permit its words to cut metaphorical capers.

By exploiting the metaphorical possibilities of English words and by drawing upon our vocabulary of finely nuanced words, we can achieve variety and nicety of expression. Manuals of English style are merely underlining the potentialities inherent in the language when they encourage the student in his frantic efforts to avoid repetitions of the same word in close proximity. Although we may regard variety as an absolute virtue of style and repetition as a universal sin, it is obvious that Yokuts cannot be driven in this direction. The broad area of reference covered by Yokuts words gives them a wide range of application, and their literal significance holds them austerely within their proper boundaries of reference. It would be flying in the face of these forces in Yokuts to seek variety by ringing delicate changes upon a recurring notion. When a notion is to be repeated, there is no need to avoid verbal repetition. A passage such as, "And he walked home. And his friend also walked home. And the people walked home," however monotonous and slovenly it may appear to English sensibilities, is stylistically appropriate in Yokuts.

192 196 Yokuts possesses a special class of verbs which, in contrast to the generalized concepts typical of the language, express notions that are narrowly defined and specific. The following examples illustrate the kind of notions conveyed by this class of verbs.

ɬubwiyi, "strike a flat object to the ground."
wiṗwiyi, "make a slow bending motion upward" (as branches bending upward in the wind).
bidinwiyi, "tumble from a high place."

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192 xapapʔiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike formation."
196 no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," ʾuhwiyi, "cough," hihwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[88] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
538

195 "do" verbs. As a stylistic device these verbs
538 are limited in their usefulness to contexts where an implication of startling and ludicrous extravagance is appropriate. In the story of Condor and Falcon only two examples occur. The first one describes the ineffectual booming sound made by Thunder in his efforts to move (p. 1), the use of a "do" verb in this case suggesting not only the violence of the noise but its incongruity as coming from so helpless a person as Thunder. In the incident dealing with Crow (p. 1), another "do" verb is employed to refer to his sudden transformation of color. Again the verb adds a touch of characterization, for Crow turns black as a result of stupidly gorging himself with black seeds. Stories dealing with Coyote as a trickster and a dupe offer the most favorable conditions for the use of these verbs. And yet, despite their effectiveness for describing the clownish antics of Coyote, they are not very frequent even in stories of this type. There still remains the feeling that the "do" verbs belong to a lunatic fringe of the language.

171 Something of the same flavor pervades the
195 various sets of reduplicated words in English--"putt-putt" and "toot-toot," "pitter-patter" and "tittle-tattle," "piggy-wiggy" and "ducky-wucky." Like stem composition in Yokuts, reduplication is so exceptional and aberrant in English that it strikes the native form-feeling as a piece of ingenuous frivolity, proper to childish speech and appropriate on an adult level only when a frivolous reference is intended. But the values which color a grammatical technique are relative to the individual patterning of each
[193] language. To reverse the analogy, reduplication is felt as a thoroughly respectable technique in Yokuts, just as stem composition in English, as illustrated in "blackbird" or "noteworthy," has nothing of the outlandish character that it possesses in Yokuts. Even onomatopoeia, whose apparently spontaneous and direct symbolism might be expected to find a universal response, carries a different stylistic tone in the two languages: in Yokuts it is associated only with the eccentric "do" verbs; in English, though it occurs in many of the low-caste reduplicated words, it is also found extensively throughout our vocabulary of image-creating words, such as "clink," "hush," "squeak," "squeal," where it serves to sharpen the vividness and specificity of reference.

193 Words are convenient but arbitrary units by
195 means of which to examine the kinds of notions that a language expresses and the style of its expression. The limits of a word are determined by the morphological factors peculiar to each language, not by any notional criteria. Although Yokuts words, with the notable exception of the "do" verbs, tend to sketch only the bare and generalized outlines of a reference, the language possesses syntactic resources for combining words in such a way that its sentences could attain

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any degree of notional intricacy and richness. A passage of Macaulay's prose, with its long and involved periods, could be translated into grammatically correct Yokuts. But the result would be a grammarian's idle fancy, a distortion of the syntactic idiom of Yokuts. The language is as diffident in applying its means of elaboration in syntax as in suffixation.

Adjectival notions, for example, can be expressed by means of a simple syntactic device. A noun functions as an adjectival term augmenting or delimiting the meaning of any other noun by being linked in parallel series with it, and theoretically any number of such adjectival nouns can be juxtaposed to the noun they modify. The English predication, "he entered the small gray house," could be paraphrased in Yokuts: go·binhin ṭew gudew ṗahlikniw, "he entered the house, the small one, the gray one." But one will search far in a body of Yokuts myths to find any such double use of adjectival terms modifying a noun. With the exception of demonstratives ("this one, that one") and quantifiers ("one, two, all, many"), even a single modifying term is rarely juxtaposed to a noun. Yokuts prefers to make separate sentences of its qualifications. More in line with the stylistic habits of Yokuts would be go·binhin ṭew / 'ama' ṭa gudi' / 'ama' ṭa yow ṗahlikin, "he entered the house. / And that one was a small one. / And that one was also a gray one."

In the same spirit Yokuts avoids expressing subordinate and superordinate relations between its predications. It possesses particles indicating temporal and modal subordination, such as "when" and "if," and suffixes forming subordinate verbs, but these are syntactic tools that Yokuts employs only on rare occasions. Its favorite device for relating predications to one another is the particle 'ama', that can best be translated as "and" or "and then," an element that achieves only the loosest and most ambiguous type of coordination. The great majority of sentences in a Yokuts text begin with this feeble co-ordinator. Occasionally a tighter cohesion is attained by the use of another particle meaning "also, again." But the language seldom goes beyond this in its efforts to connect and relate its predications.

These items of syntactic behavior reflect the general tendency in Yokuts to demand a severe simplicity of content from its units of expression. In contrast to English, Yokuts does not pack its individual words with a wealth of meaning, nor does it compensate for the conceptual thinness of its words by an elaborate display of syntactic processes. Notions are sparsely distributed over a sequence of predications, and the predications themselves are broken up into independent, loosely joined sentences.

To the English imagination, rooted in its own habits of expression, the total effect of Yokuts style is anything but stimulating. The mode of expression undoubtedly appears drab, colorless,

[p.8-A]

195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the symptom of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To his English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

[Text continued top of page 8-B.-Analyst]

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 It is not that phase of style which concerns
121 itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no
[182 less restrained than the grammatical style of
195 Yokuts language. One wonders if thought proc-
153] esses, habituated to precise grammatical forms,
[114] conform to an analagous pattern in arranging a series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yauelmani texts.

[4]The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5]The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

[Text continued bottom of page 8-B.-Analyst]

[p.8-B]

195 follow the labyrinthine twists and turns. Behind this unevenness of expression there seems to be a strident and feverish energy, obsessed with the need of expressing nuances that could best be left to contextual inference. To the native accustomed to the casual and quiet dignity of Yokuts style, English hammers too insistently upon the sensibilities with its succession of garish images, its interminable sleight-of-hand tricks with meanings that pass through sudden metaphorical changes, its insatiable taste for onomatopoetic mimicry. The language lacks balance and symmetry even in its grammatical system, which is a tangle of sprawling patterns. And English practises no economy in exploiting its motley resources; it draws upon its forms of expression with a prodigal hand.

Each of these appraisals is based upon the use of an irrelevant frame of values. It is no more valid than applying the principles of realistic painting to geometric art. Each language is like a particular art form in that it works with a limited range of materials and pursues the stylistic goals that have been and are constantly being discovered in a collective quest. Yokuts is a type of collective expression that values balance of inner form and restraint in the representation of meanings. In spite of the spurious impression that can hardly be avoided in an English translation, Yokuts is not a peculiar and imperfect kind of English.

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 171 This simplicity or directness is not so marked in the Western Mono myths; they have a tendency to ramble. There is a difference between a series of self-contained episodes which may be amalgamated as a composite myth or remain discrete, and the episode which depends upon a prior action and in turn leads to another. Broadly speaking, the former is Yokuts, the latter Mono, when their tales achieve length. With Yokuts align Lake Miwok and Pomo of the Central California region, and with Mono align Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Klamath along the eastern highlands.

538 773 With few exceptions the stories collected are myths in the sense which Boas has defined.[6] They are concerned with persons and events of an era before the appearance of man, when birds, animals, insects, and even plants, were active denizens of this world. There are one or two stories of human beings which are really in the myth category. Such is the tale of the man who followed his wife to the land of the dead. It explains the nature of the afterworld, why the dead cannot be visited, just as other myths explain how land was made or how fire was obtained. The characters have to be

[6] Mythology and Folk-Tales of the Indians of North America, p. 378.

[p. 9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
773 revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the nar-
[173] rator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are believed to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistantly tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the
[869] young as historic fact--this was the way land was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals overcome, and so on. The explanatory element is
[182] frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

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[124] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

[p. 9-B]

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people." In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several *others* (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to
[796] the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremonials such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[9]The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, [262] 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out 778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplish- [276] ing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani· yokoṭs) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going along." Western Mono myths more often refer to [171] the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati· co·in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for an early spring." [784] The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same [574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversation would evoke such recountings. Adolescent [883] Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

538 [883] house in the early evening and stay till they were "chased home."

171 538 It is apparent, however, that the "animal transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 776 825 The persons participating in the tales are few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit).[12]

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[10] Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 825 [11] The simple form "Falcon" has been used throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12] The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

538 776 825 His association with Crow is notable. The animal characteristics of these persons are occasionally pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page II-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 171 538 773 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly characterized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to [197] be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 538 773 The mythology deals with events and adventures in the lives of a superhuman as well as prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would 773 feel that the creation tales should come first, 115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[134] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting O. H. Thayer).

[15] Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14] Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15] Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16] System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page II-B.—Analyst]

[p 11-B]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
776 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE[13] IS ON p. 11-A — ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary coda.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Waksachi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]

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Map 1. Tribes of California and adjacent territory.

[p. 12]

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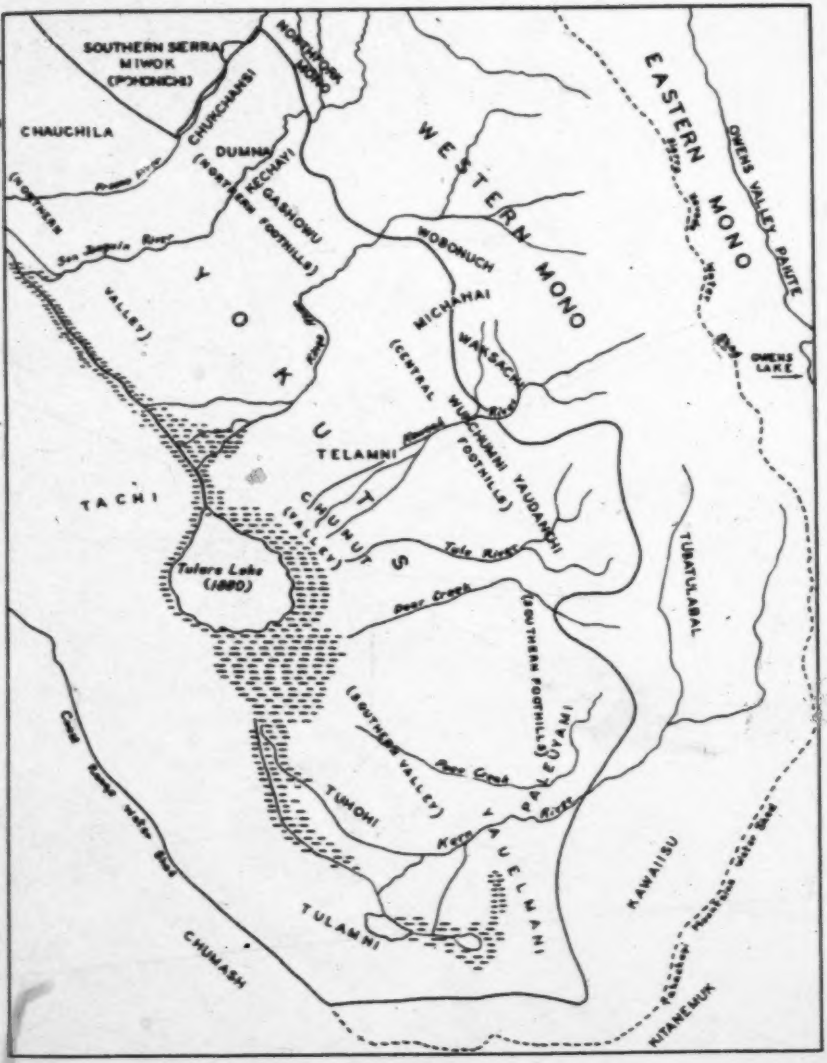

Map 2. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes.

[p. 13]

[p.14-A]

171 upon Falcon. Falcon's popularity is unquestion-
538 ably strongest among the Yokuts and Western Mono,
yet he is a person of some consequence in Pomo,
Miwok, Salinan, and Western Mono myths, wherein
his rôle is often at least daring if not unde-
featedly heroic. It must be acknowledged that
[184] the tales of Falcon emanate from people of hill
or mountain country. How far he was popular with
Yokuts of the plains, lakes, and sloughs (Tachi,
Telamni, Chunut, Wowol) is a question, for the
mythology recorded from these groups is hope-
lessly incomplete. With these people it is
possible that Coyote or some other held a more
elevated status.

Typical of Yokuts and also shared wholly or in part by Western Mono, Tübatulabal, Miwok, and Pomo are these tales: Growing Rock, Pleiades and Taurus, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister, Father), Deserted Children, Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Coyote Steal's Cougar's Child, and Pursuit of a Dead Wife. The notion that Thunder is a pair of twin boys (rather than a thunderbird), and is in some way associated with dogs, is held by these tribal groups, though it is not always embodied in a tale.

A true Coyote trickster cycle seems to be lacking among Yokuts, Western Mono, and Miwok, although for the Yokuts both Newman's and Latta's collections have augmented the meager group of Coyote stories. If to the Yokuts, as to us, these tales seem more humorous than consequential, it may be that neither Kroeber nor I probed deep enough to get them. However, they do not bulk large in recorded collections from Northfork Mono, Miwok, and Salinan, and their comparative absence from the Central California area may be real.

Also absent is the widespread tale of Bear and Deer.

Yokuts and Tübatulabal have Mikiti Kills Bear, their local and far-fetched variant of Old Woman's Grandson. Falcon frequently is substituted for Mikiti; and so unique is it in Yokuts mythology to have a named character, that I suspect the name Mikiti to be some variant or diminutive of limik (falcon), although in this contention Newman cannot offer support with any positive linguistic evidence.

Yauelmani Yokuts myths, as exemplified by Newman's collection, are closely related to those of the Tübatulabal. This is expectable. But whether their rather Shoshonean quality (as manifested in such specific details as rock-encased condor, gnus adviser, rolling skull) is aboriginal or the result of later reservation contacts cannot be established. The Shoshonean tinge in Yauelmani tales is slightly more than would be expectable from intertribal relationship of the two linguistic stocks in olden times, yet so little is known of aboriginal culture and conditions in the southern San Joaquin Valley that what would be expectable is largely conjecture.

[p.14-B]

171 538 773 The mythology of the Western Mono, represented by Gifford's collection from the Northfork Mono and Gayton's from the Wobonuch and Waksachi, clearly shows its connection with that of the Great Basin. Specific connections have been pointed out for the Northfork by Gifford.[17] On the whole, Northfork mythology is more individualistic than that of the Wobonuch: many of the Northfork tales have no cognates among their neighbors, whether Yokuts, Miwok, or Owens Valley Paiute.[18] More removed from contact with Yokuts, characteristically Central Californian features are few, whereas the Wobonuch and Waksachi while retaining their Shoshonean tales and incidents have adopted more whole-heartedly those of their Penutian neighbors along with other phases of Yokuts culture.

The Western Mono, either Northfork, Wobonuch, or Waksachi, share the following tales and incidents with Yokuts: Earth-diver Creation of Land, Theft of Fire (single thief), Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Growing Rock, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister), Pursuit of a Dead Wife, and Transformation to Animals. The Transformation to Animals is used as a closing incident, and it is significant that a Wobonuch informant, when recounting it, called several of the animals by their Yokuts names, whereas he had previously been speaking pure Shoshonean.

The Mono-speaking tribes--the Northfork, the Wobonuch on the west of the Sierra Nevada, and the Owens Valley and Mono Lake Paiute on the east--show close affiliation in the mutual possession of certain tales and incidents. These are: Hainano and Pumkwesh; Coyote and Sun Race; the tale of a girl who escapes a giant and becomes the mother of men (Walking Skeleton, of the Northfork, The Woman and the Giants, of the Mono Lake Paiute, and Thunder Twins, of the Wobonuch); and particular variations in the Contest with the Cannibal. These are shared in part with Moapa and Paviotso, though as we should expect, it is the Eastern Mono who exhibit the closest relationship with the mythology of the Great Basin.

The sample of Washo mythology which is on record suggests a fairly close relationship with Mono as well as with Paviotso mythology. There is a hint of similarity, an atmosphere which is difficult to analyze or define--and to do so is indeed outside the realm of this paper--in common in the mythologies emanating from the eastern highland region of California, from the Mono-speaking people northward including Washo, Achomawi-Atsugewi, and Modoc. But from the Mono southward, the mythologies of Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, and Serrano lean toward the southern Basin type which includes Chemehuevi, Walapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai.

[17] Western Mono Myths, pp. 303-305.

[18] It is for this reason that only comparable myths have been abstracted for presentation in this paper.

[128]

[p.15-A]

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This presentation of Yokuts mythology in relation to that of its neighbors is not intended to give the impression that this mythology in toto is segregated from the rest of California folk tales. It is firmly enmeshed in the fabric of contiguous western mythology by means of common elements and incidents. But in contrast to their neighbors, who toward the north participate more and more in the mythology of the Southern Plateau and Basin, and toward the south

[p. 15-B]

171 in that of the Southern Basin and Yumans, the
538 Yokuts are the focus of a small area with limited
773 affiliations. The contrast is particularly acute when we envisage the sweeping distribution of cognate tales from Plateau, through the Basin, and into the Southwest, which are absent from the Central California mythologic area.

Supporting data for the generalizations present in this section are to be found in the comparative notes with the abstracts. 1/1

1/1 [THE COMPARATIVE NOTES AND THE ABSTRACTS HAVE NOT BEEN PROCESSED FOR THE FILES — ANALYST]